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the *Viṣṇu-dharma* it calls itself a 'Śāstra' or 'Dharma-śāstra'[2] and never a 'Purāṇa', or 'Upapurāṇa', and it has been mentioned as such by the *Bhaviṣya*[3] and the *Saura-purāṇa*,[4] both of which clearly distinguish it from the Purāṇic works. Yet its name has been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurānas except those contained in *Skanda-purāṇa* V. iii

(ii) *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 159, Ms. No. 46 (styled '*Śiva-dharm-opapurāṇa*' and written in Grantha script).

(iii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, pp. 128-129, No. 1376 (incomplete, containing the Śānty-adhyāya only; written in Newari script; dated Newari Era 522). See also p. 55.

(iv) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 272-274, No. 2208 (containing the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*; written in Bengali characters).

(v) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 138 (written in Grantha characters).

[2] In most of the chapter-colophons the name '*Śiva-dharma-śāstra*' occurs. See also the line:

'*uktaṃ ca dvādaśādhyāyaṃ dharma-śāstraṃ śivātmakam*' occurring in Chap. 12 (fol. 39a).

[3] The relevant verse of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* is as follows:

aṣṭādaśa purāṇāni rāmasya caritaṃ tathā /
viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi śivadharmāś ca bhārata. //

(*Bhaviṣya-p.*, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., i. 4. 87b-88a).

This verse has been quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, p. 15, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) II. i. pp. 19-20, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 30, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 22, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed.) I, p. 71, and so on.

The printed edition of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* reads 'viṣṇu-dharmādayo dharmāḥ' for 'viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi'.

[4] The relevant verses of the '*Saura-purāṇa*', as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 539-540, are the following:

anyāny upa-purāṇāni sa-hiraṇyāni parvaṇi /
likhitvā yaḥ prayacchet tu sa vidyā-pārago bhavet //
śiva-dharmādi-śāstrāṇi yaḥ prayacchati puṇyadhīḥ /
so 'nanta-phalam āpnoti śiva-dharma-prakīrtanāt //

These two verses do not occur in the printed editions of the *Saura-p.*

(Revā-khaṇḍa). 1. 46-52, *Devī-bhāgavata* i. 3. 13-16, *Vindhya-māhātmya*, Chapter 4, and *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, Chap. 1. On the other hand, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā takes it to be a 'Smṛti' work,[5] the *Revā-māhātmya* calls it a part of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* and thus looks upon it as a Purāṇic work,[6] the Vāyaviyasaṃhitā (ii. 24. 170) of the *Śiva-purāṇa* regards it both as a 'Śāstra' and as a 'Purāṇa',[7] and Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa mentions it as a 'Śāstra' on one occasion and as a 'Purāṇa' on another[8]. From these it is evident that this work began to be recognised as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D., but its original character was not lost sight of at least by a section of people.

That originally the *Śivā-dharma* was not meant for passing as a Purāṇic work, is also shown by its contents, which are given below.

Chap. 1—Salutation to Śaṃbhu in a verse (which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*).

While Nandikeśvara was sitting at ease on the Mount Meru in the midst of a number of sages, Sanatkumāra, son of Brahmā, rose up from among them and requested Nandikeśvara to speak on that excellent Dharma (paramaṃ dharmaṃ), called 'Śiva-dharma', which is eternal, easy to perform, and productive of all the ends of life, because, Sanat-

[5] See Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 30.

[6] Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, p. 65—

caturthaṃ śiva-dharmākhyaṃ purāṇe vāyu-saṃjñite

(which is one of the lines of the *Revā-māhātmya* on the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas).

[7] *Śiva-p.*, V (Vāyaviya-saṃhitā). ii. 24. 170-

śāstraṃ ca śiva-dharmākhyaṃ dharmākhyaṃ ca tad-uttaram /
śaivākhyaṃ śiva-dharmākhyaṃ purāṇaṃ śruti-saṃmatam //

[8] See *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed.) II, pp. 539 (*śivārcana-phalaṃ tu śivadharma-śāstre darśitam*, etc.) and 553 (*phalam āha purāṇe nandikeśvaraḥ*).

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kumāra said, the Agniṣṭoma and other Vedic sacrifices, being highly elaborate, expensive and tiresome but of doubtful efficacy, could not be undertaken by people of little resources.[9] Consequently, Nandikeśvara praised 'Śiva-dharma' (religious duty to Śiva), which, he said, was originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Ṣaṇmukha (the six-faced god Kārttikeya), Nandikeśvara and other gods for the deliverance of those who were steeped in nescience. Nandikeśvara then spoke on the following topics :

Praise of Śiva-worship, by which one may attain heaven (svarga) as well as final emancipation (apavarga). Mention and praise of eight types ('aṣṭāṅgī', 'aṣṭa-vidhā') of Bhakti manifested in loving the devotees of Śiva, encouraging Śiva-worship, personally worshipping the deity, listening to discourses on Śiva, constantly remembering him, and so on.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of honouring them with gifts, etc. Praise of devotion, worship, donation, Homa, knowledge, austerities, etc. meant for the pleasure of Śiva. Devotional service to Śiva always and by all means.

Chap. 2—Going to describe the means of attaining immortality Sanatkumāra speaks on the merits of establishing a Liṅga of Śiva, constructing a temple for it, cleansing the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung, lustrating the Liṅga, bathing it with water, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc., offering of 'argha' to it, making donations of gold, gems, cows, horses, elephants, servants, cultivable land, village, town, etc., and making all kinds of devotional service to Śiva.

Chap. 3—Sanatkumāra's narration of the following story of the origin of Liṅga :

[9] *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 1 (fol. 1b) :
agniṣṭomādayo yajñā bahu-vitta-kriyānvitāḥ |
nātyanta-phala-bhūyiṣṭhā bahv-āyāsa-samanvitāḥ ||
na śakyante yataḥ kartum alpa-vittair dvijātibhiḥ |
sukhopāyam ato brūhi sarva-kām-ārtha-sādhakam ||
hitāya sarva-martyānām śiva-dharmam sanātanam ||

When everything was under the waters of the ocean, there was a quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, both of whom claimed agency and lordship of the universe. In order to settle their dispute there appeared between them a great Liṅga of light (jyotir-liṅga), the ends of which neither Brahmā nor Viṣṇu could discover. As they eulogised this huge Liṅga, they found in it another small spiritual Liṅga, only a 'prādeśa' (i. e., the span between the thumb and the forefinger) in length, which was Śiva himself (śivātmaka).[10] Śiva (here called Mahādeva) was pleased to grant boons to Brahmā and Viṣṇu and disappeared after declaring himself to be the cause of the universe. Thence forward Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others worshipped the Liṅga, which comprises all gods, Brahmā remaining at its right side, Viṣṇu at its left, Gāyatrī in its heart, and the Vedas, together with the Aṅgas, on its head.

Results of disregarding a Liṅga. Construction of Liṅgas with different materials (viz., stone, gems, gold, silver, brass, sapphire, bell-metal, earth, crystal, copper, etc.) and the effects derived by gods, Nāgas, Asuras and others by worshipping them, viz., Brahmā became the creator by worshipping a Liṅga of stone, Indra's position was due to his worship of a Liṅga of gems, Dhanada became the god of wealth by worshipping a golden Liṅga, the Viśvedevas became so by worshipping a Liṅga of silver, Vāyu worshipped a Liṅga of brass to attain his position, Viṣṇu's status was due to his worship of a Liṅga of sapphire, Buddha attained his supreme knowledge and the state of peace by worshipping a Liṅga of gold[11], Ārhata became a venerable Yogin by worshipping a Liṅga of topazes[12], and so on.

[10] *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 3 (fol. 3a) :
liṅga-madhye paraṃ liṅgaṃ sthitaṃ prādeśa-sammitam |
samādhi-stotra-sampannau dṛṣṭavantau śivātmakam ||
naiva tat kāñcanaṃ raupyaṃ tāmraṃ sphaṭika-maukṣikam |
la+mātraṃ sthitaṃ śāntaṃ kevalaṃ tac-chivātmakam ||

[11-12] *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 3b) :
buddhen-ābhyarcitaṃ liṅgaṃ jambūnadamayaṃ śubham |
tena buddhatvam āpnoti sadā śāntam avasthitam ||

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Effects and praise of worshipping the Tribhuvaneśvara Liṅga; fateful results of doing otherwise. Results of establishing a Liṅga.

Chap. 4—Characteristics of Śiva-bhaktas (who should be energetic, pious, disregardful of all opposites such as happiness and sorrow, light and darkness, heat and cold, and so on).

Śiva as the best recipient of gifts. Praise of constructing a Śiva-temple and of sweeping, whitewashing and repairing it annually, of besmearing it with cow-dung, of colouring its pavement, of furnishing it with pictures painted on walls,[13] and so on.

Praise of Rudra as the highest god, the best knowledge and the best austerities.

Chap. 5—Results and praise of rendering various kinds of service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga; viz; bathing the Liṅga with milk, curd, ghee, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc.; offer of eight kinds of materials of worship (aṣṭāṅgārgha) to it in dishes of gold, silver or some other metal; fanning it with fans made of palm-leaf, peacock-feathers, etc.; worshipping the deity with various kinds of flowers; offer of various articles of food, burning lamps, looking glass, etc.; holding a burning lamp on the head or forehead; saluting by lying prostrate before the Liṅga; eulogy of the god.

Results and praise of lighting series of lamps (dīpamālikā) in the month of Kārttika, decorating the Liṅga as well as the temple with flags and banners, sounding drums and various other musical instruments, arranging song and dance, especially of females, before the Liṅga, spreading a

ārhatas tu sadā-kālaṃ puṣpa-liṅg-ārcanāt param /
tena-ārhattvam avāpnoti yogaṃ cāpi sudurlabham //

[13] *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 6b):
kārayec citra-śāstrajñair yatnāc citraṃ śivālaye.

white or coloured canopy[14] over it, constructing with bricks a house for Rudra having the form of the sacred fire, decorating the floor and yard with Svastika, Padma and various other paintings, digging tanks, wells, etc. near Śiva-temples, and so on. Praise of places of Śiva-worship as being equal to Kuru-kṣetra, Naimiṣa and Puṣkara.

Chap. 6—Propitiation (śānti) of Śiva, Umā, Vināyaka, Mahākāla and many other divine and non-divine beings by eulogising them for averting evils: In this connection the following deities and others have been described :—

Ambikā; Vināyaka (who is said to be a son of Rudra and to have a big belly, a huge body, a bright collyrium-dark complexion, a tusk, the head of an elephant, and a snake as his sacred thread)[15]; Mahākāla; Viṣṇu; Brahmāṇī (who has four faces)[16], Rudrāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā and others; the various mother-goddesses (Mātaraḥ, such as Ākāśa-mātaraḥ, Loka-mātaraḥ, Bhūta-mātaraḥ, etc.); the Gaṇas living in different directions; the king of gods (i. e., Indra) living in the city of Amarāvatī lying in the east;[17]

[14] For description of the canopy see *ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fol. 11b):
vitānaṃ sita-padmābhaṃ madhye padma-vibhūṣitam /
vicitraṃ eka-varṇaṃ vā nava-vastr-opaśobhitam //
kiṅkiṇī-ravak-opetaṃ candrakaiś copaśobhitam /
lambakaiḥ sūtra-dāmaiś ca ghaṇṭā-ruta- vibhūṣitam //
etc. etc.

[15] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 13 b):
mahodaro mahākāyaḥ snigdhāñjana-caya-cchaviḥ /
eka-daṃṣtr-otkaṭo devo gaja-vaktro mahābalaḥ //
nāga-yajñ-opavītī ca nāg-ābharaṇa-bhūṣitaḥ /
sarvārtha-saṃpad-ādhāro gaṇ-ādhyakṣo vara-pradaḥ /
rudrasya tanayo devo nāyako 'tha vināyakaḥ //

[16] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 14a):
padma-rāga-prabhā devī catur-vadana-paṃkajā /
akṣa-māl-ārpita-karā kamaṇḍalu-dharā śubhā //
brahmāṇī saumya-vadanā śiva-pūjā-parāyaṇā //

[17] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15a):
amarāvatī nāma purī pūrva-bhāge vyavasthitā.

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Agni living in the city of Tejovatī situated in the south-east (āgneye dig-vibhāge); Ananta (i.e., Śeṣa Nāga) living in Vaivasvatī Purī in the south; Nirṛti, a Rakṣas, living in the city of Kṛṣṇā in the south-west; Varuṇa[18] living in the city of Śuddhavatī in the west; Pavana[19] (Wind) living in the city of Gandhavatī in the north-west; Kuvera[20] residing in the city of Mahodayā in the north; Īśāna[21] living in the city of Yaśovatī in the north-east; Sarasvatī, who is said to have a body possessing stainless halo and looking as white as the ray of the autumnal moon;[22] Śrī; Jayā Devī; Aparājitā; the Planets; the Nakṣatras (mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī); the Rāśis (zodiacal signs); the sages Kaśyapa, Gālava, Gārgya, Viśvāmitra, Manu, Dakṣa, Vasiṣṭha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pulaha, Kratu, Nārada, Bhṛgu, Ātreya, Bharadvāja, Aṅgiras, Vālmīki, Kauśika, Kaṇṭha, Śākalya, Punarvasu, Śālaṅkāyana, and others; wives of sages; the Daitya kings (such as Śaṅkukarṇa, Mahājambha, Hayagrīva, Prahlāda, Tāraka and others) who are said to worship Hāṭakeśvaradeva regularly; the Nāgas (such as Karkoṭaka, Kulika and, others); the Rivers (such as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Gotamī, Kāverī, Varaṇā, Devikā, Chandrabhāgā, Godāvarī,

[18] For description of Varuṇa see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b):
bhadra-mauktika-saṃkāśaḥ paripiṅgala-locanaḥ |
śukla-vastra-parīdhānaḥ pāśa-hasto mahābalaḥ ||

[19] For description of Pavana see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b):
tatra tāmreṇa dehena kṛṣṇa-piṅgala-locanaḥ |
paṭa-vyāpt-āntar-ālīno dhvaja-yaṣty-āyudh-odyataḥ ||

[20] For description of Kuvera see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b):
tatra devo gadā-hastaś citra-srag-vastra-bhūṣaṇaḥ |
hrasva-bāhur mahā-tejāḥ paripiṅgala-locanaḥ ||

[21] For description of Īśāna see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b):
tatra mauktika-saṃkāśaḥ śaśāṅka-kṛta-bhūṣaṇaḥ |
tri-netraḥ śānta-rūp-ātmā akṣa-mālā-dharo dharaḥ ||
Ibid., Chap. 6 (fol. 16a):
śarac-candr-āṃśu-gaureṇa deheṇ-āmaia-tejasā |
sarasvatī śive bhaktā .. ..||

Sarayū, Gaṇḍakī, Kauśikī, Sarasvatī, Nairañjinā, Śoṇa, Mandākinī, etc.); the Yakṣas (such as Vaiśravaṇa, Maṇibhadra, Suviroma, Pāñcika, Vibhāṇḍaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and others); the Mountains (viz., Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Malaya, Gandhamādana, Śrīparvata, Mahendra and Himakūṭa); the eight Dvīpas including Gomathyo (?); the Oceans; and the Rākṣasas, Ḍākinīs, Bhūtas, Piśācas, evil demons (supposed to seize upon children), etc.

Praise of this chapter on propitiation (śānti).

Chap. 7—Praise of worshipping Śiva in a Liṅga on particular days (viz., full-moon day, new-moon day, the eighth day of the bright half of a month, the thirteenth and fourteenth days of the dark half of a month, and other Parvan days) and in different parts of the day. Such worship is said to be more effective than the Agnihotra, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices.

Rudra, Brahmā and Viṣṇu—the three Mātrās of Śiva.[23]

Benefits of muttering the sectarian Mantra 'oṃ namaḥ śivāya' said to be the six-syllabled 'Śiva-sūtra', of which the Bhāṣya was later spoken out by the omniscient and self-born Śiva himself.[24]

[23] *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 21a-b):
rudro brahmā hariś caiva mātrās tisraḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||
dakṣiṇe 'nge 'bhavad brahmā harir vāmāṅga-saṃbhavaḥ |
hṛdayānnirgato rudro brahma-viṣṇu-śivātmakaḥ ||
jagat-sṛṣṭi-karo brahmā viṣṇu[r] loka-vimohakaḥ. ||
anugraha-karo nitya-līlo rudra-śivātmakaḥ ||
tribhir etair jagad vyāptaṃ kāraṇair ātma-karmabhiḥ |
tisro mātrāḥ śivasyaitāḥ sarva-loka-prapūjitāḥ ||
etā eva trayo lokā etā eva trayo 'gnayaḥ |
trayo guṇās trivargaś ca yac cānyaj jagati sthitam ||

[24] *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 21b):
sarv-ārtha-sādhakaṃ mantraṃ śiva-sūtraṃ ṣaḍ-akṣaram |
bhāṣyam asy-aiva sūtrasya sarvajñena svayaṃbhuvā|
paścāt parāparāṇāṃ vyakt-ārtha-gaditāni tu||

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Praise of devotees of Śiva as being far superior to those who observe celibacy, or regularly study the Vedas, or perform the Agnihotra and other sacrifices, or have mastered all the branches of learning.

Eulogy of Śiva.

Chap. 8—Description and praise of various kinds of devotional service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga, in which all the sacred places and temples of deities are believed to lie hidden.—Bathing of the Liṅga with ghee for a day and night with song, dance, etc.; ceremonious Liṅga-worship during Parvan days; performance of the Car-festival of Śiva; giving to Śiva a vessel of ghee, a copper vessel full of gold (in the Soma-vrata during the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha), a sacred thread (during the full-moon day in the month of Āṣāḍha), a milch cow and a bull, a white bull, and a particular kind of cow called Kapilā (the milk of which a Śūdra is not permitted to drink without initiation to Śiva-worship).[25]

Praise of cows, which are said to be as sacred as Brahmins and to have emitted the Vedas together with the six ancillary sciences (gobhir vedāḥ samudgīrṇāḥ sa-ṣaḍ-aṅga-pada-kramāḥ), and in which all the deities and holy places are said to dwell permanently.

Performance of Go-śānti, in which Śiva is invoked to save the cows from mortality.

Gift of horses, elephants, male and female servants, villages, hamlets, towns, land, etc.

Evil consequences of dispossessing one of landed property given to him previously by the dispossessor himself or by any other person.

Consequences of taking illegal possession of property belonging to a deity or a Brahmin.

[25] *Ibid.*, Chap. 8 (fol, 24b):
kapilāṃ yaḥ pibec chūdraḥ śiva-saṃskāra-varjitaḥ /
sa prayāti mahāghoraṃ narakaṃ nātra saṃśayaḥ //

Chap. 9—Description and praise of the Śiva-liṅga-vrata (which is said to have been performed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Devī, Skanda and other deities, sages, and leaders of Gaṇas, and which consists of bathing the Liṅga with water mixed with white sandal paste, placing it on a faultless lotus, worshipping it with white lotuses, Bilva leaves, etc., giving of fine cloth, various kinds of food and other things to it, and praying to it for forgiveness.

Chap. 10—Merits of observing fast and worshipping Śiva with the mention of his different names on the eighth and fourteenth days of both the fortnights during the different months of a year. Such fast is said to yield more merit than that earned by a person performing a long-continued sacrifice (Satra) or speaking the truth or visiting holy places or performing the Agnihotra or any other sacrifice.

Description and praise of Nakta-bhojana-vrata, Umā-maheśvara-vrata, Kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī-vrata, Śūla-dāna-vrata, Gandha-vrata, Śaiva-mahāvrata, Kailāsa-vrata, and Śiva-ratha-vrata.

Construction of earthen, wooden, stone or brick temples for Śiva and furnishing them with all requisites. Ten cows and an ox, bed, and other things are to be given to Śiva on these and other occasions.

Chap. 11—Nandikeśvara's statement that the 'Śiva-dharma', declared by Śiva, is meant for yielding all the ends of life (including final emancipation) to those females and members of the four castes, who resort to the 'Śivāśrama' (stage of life in which Śiva is worshipped with all seriousness).

Construction of an ideal hermitage for Śiva-worship, which is to have a beautiful flower-garden on its north as well as a fire-sanctuary (agnyāgāra) and a guest-house for devotees of Śiva (śivabhaktābhyāgatālaya).

Absence of himsā in plucking flowers for Śiva-worship.

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Praise of devotees of Śiva and of rendering service to them when they are tired, ill or otherwise. Praise of making gifts of necessary things to Śiva-bhaktas.

Denouncement of anger, and praise of tolerance (kṣamā), ahiṃsā, truth, non-stealing, etc.

Chap. 12—Nandikeśvara's enumeration of the various duties of the devotees of Śiva; praise of worshipping a long-neglected Liṅga without accepting anything; respect to be shown to Śiva-liṅgas, to Śiva-yogins, and to the flowers, garlands, etc. offered to Śiva; praise of gift of clothes, making of gardens, digging of wells, etc.; praise of feeding Śiva-worshipping Brahmins in Śrāddha and other ceremonies for the pleasure of Śiva; praise of Śiva-bhaktas (who are said to be much superior to Veda-knowing Brahmins), Śiva-yogins, Rudrākṣas and Śiva-dharma.

Enumeration of (i) the eight famous places (sthānāṣṭakam), called Rudra-kṣetras, viz., Bhastrāpada (Vastrāpatha ?), Rudrakoṭi, Avimukta, Mahodaya, Gokarṇa, Bhadrakarṇa, Suvarṇākṣa and Sthāṇvīśvara; (ii) the eight holy places (pavitrāṣṭakam), viz., Chagalānta, Durantāśva, Mākoṭa, Maṇḍaleśvara, Kālañjara, Śaṅkukarṇa, Sthaleśvara, and Sthūleśvara; (iii) the eight secret places (guhyāṣṭakam), viz., Gayā, Kurukṣetra, Nakhala, Kanakhala, Vimaleśvara, Dahāsa (?), Mahendra and Bhīma; (iv) the eight most secret places (guhyātiguhyam aṣṭakam), viz., Śrīparvata, Hariścandra, Jalpa, Āmrātikeśvara, Madhyama, Mahākāla, Kedāra and Bhairava; and (v) the eight places of religious merit (puṇyātmikāṣṭakam), viz., Āmreśvara, Prabhāsa, Naimiṣa, Puṣkara, Āṣāḍhi, Diṇḍi-muṇḍi, Bhārabhūti and Nakulīśvara.

From the summary of contents given above it is evident that the *Śiva-dharma* has nothing of any of the five characteristics of Purāṇas, nor does it name Vyāsa or Sūta as a speaker. It is purely a religious manual for the

guidance of Śiva-worshippers, and as such it is rightly called a 'Dharma-śāstra' and described as 'an eight-branched tree of religious duties having its origin from Śiva'.[26] Yet it came to be widely recognised as an Upapurāṇa, and this new character of the work was clearly due to the religious purpose for which it was intended like the other Purāṇic works of comparatively late dates.

The *Śiva-dharma*, sometimes called a 'Saṃhitā', in its chapter-colophons,[27] inculcates the worship of Rudra-Śiva in a Liṅga, lays special stress on Bhakti, and says that it is Yoga, proceeding from Jñāna, which puts an end to all sufferings.[28] In its opinion, that Mleccha is the best Brahmin, a sage and an anchorite who has developed the eight types of Bhakti in him.[29] It advocates the maintenance of fire by Śiva-worshippers for the performance of Vedic rites and Śiva-worship, prescribes bath and painting of the sectarian mark Tripuṇḍra with ashes, calls Śiva 'mahāyogin', 'yogeśvara', 'nirañjana', 'nirākāra', etc., regards him (sometimes called Rudra) as the highest deity and the Supreme Brahma, and takes Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the inferior Rudra as his three Mātrās. It is remarkable that Śiva is not called 'Paśupati' anywhere in the whole work, nor is there any mention of the study of the Śatarudrīya section (of the *Yajurveda*) or the

[26] *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 36b:
eṣa dharma-drumaḥ śrīmān aṣṭa-śākhaḥ śivodbhavaḥ.

[27] See, for instance, the colophons (*iti śiva-dharma-śāstre nandikeśvara-proktāyāṃ saṃhitāyāṃ.....adhyāyaḥ.....*) of Chaps. 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms. No. G 3852.

[28] *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 10, fol. 30a:
tan nirvedāc ca vairāgyaṃ vairāgyāj jñāna-saṃbhavaḥ ||
jñānāt pravartate yogo yogād duḥkhāntam āpnuyāt ||

[29] *Ibid.*, Chap. 1, fol. 2a:
bhaktir aṣṭa-vidhā [eai]ṣā yasmin mlecche 'pi vardhate |
sa viprendro muniḥ śrīmān sa yatiḥ sa ca paṇḍitaḥ ||

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Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad by the Śiva-worshippers. On the other hand, on one occasion a Śiva-worshipper has been called 'Māheśvara',[30] and on another a 'devotee of Maheśvara' has been praised. The sectarian Mantra of six syllables (viz., oṃ namaḥ śivāya) has been called a six-syllabled Śiva-sūtra, the Bhāṣya of which is said to have been spoken out later by the all-knowing Self-born Being (Svayaṃbhū).[31] The word 'vāmācāra', used twice with respect to Śiva,[32] need not be taken to connect the Śaivism professed by the present work with the Left-hand school of the Tantriks. This word simply means 'one of perverse activities', and nothing more.

We have already adduced reasons to show that the *Śiva-dharma*, originally a 'Śāstra', began to be looked upon as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D. This early date of the work can be supported by various other evidences, some of which are noted below. There are inscriptional evidences which show that in South India the *Śiva-dharma* was often recited for popular instruction during the reign of the Colas from 1079 to 1279 A.D.[33] In the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Newari Ms. containing six different works including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*, and this Ms. is dated by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in 'the twelfth century' A. D. from the nature of its script. In the same Library there is another Newari Ms.

[30] *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 34b:

sudūram api gantavyaṃ yatra māheśvaro janaḥ.

[31] *Ibid.*, Chap. 7, fol. 21b. For the relevant lines see foot-note 24 above.

[32] *Ibid.*, Chap. 4, fol. 6b:

vāmāya vāma-rūpāya vāmācārāya bhāvine|
vāma-kāntārdha-dehāya anantāya namo'stu te||

Also Chap. 10, fol. 28a:

sarva-velām atikramya naktam uttama-bhojanam|
vāmācāro mahādevo naktenoddharate narān||

[33] See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, II. i. p. 481.

containing nine different works (including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*), the eighth of which, called *Lalita-vistara*, has a post-colophon statement which informs us that it was copied in the Nepali Saṃvat 156 (=1036 A.D.) during the reign of Lakṣmīkāma-deva.[34] The *Śiva-dharma* has been mentioned in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (p. 30) as well as in the *Śiva-purāṇa* (Vāyavīya-saṃhitā ii. 24. 170)[35] and the '*Saura-purāṇa*' as known to Hemādri[36]; and its name has been included in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa*, *Parāśara-upapurāṇa*, etc.[37] A good number of verses of this work has been quoted in Nīlakaṇṭha's *Ācāra-mayūkha*, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantra-sāra*, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācara-pradīpa*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi*, Rudradhara's *Varṣa-kṛtya*, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā*, and so on; and most of these quoted verses are found in the present text of the *Śiva-dharma* (see Appendix I). So, the *Śiva-dharma* must be dated earlier than 800 A. D. We shall show on another occasion that the *Śiva-dharmottara* was composed later than the *Śiva-dharma* but earlier than 800 A.D. So, the *Śiva-dharma* can by no means be dated later than 700 A. D. The facts that the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*[38] mentions the *Śiva-dharma* in

[34] See foot-note 1 above.

[35] The Vāyavīya-saṃhitā of the *Śiva-purāṇa* has also incorporated verses of the *Śiva-dharma*. For instance, the verse 'liṅga-vedī bhaved devī,' which is ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 132 and which occurs in Chap. 5 of the present text of the *Śivadharma*, is the same as *Śiva-purāṇa*, Vāyavīa-Saṃhitā, ii. 27. 13.

[36] For the relevant verses of the *Saura-purāṇa*, as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 539-540, see foot-note 4 above.

[37] For these lists see my article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1940, pp. 38ff.

[38] For the date of the original chapters of the Brāhma Parvan of the printed *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* see R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 170-172.

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one of its original chapters and that the Nakṣatras have been mentioned in the latter work in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī[39] tend to indicate that the *Śiva-dharma* was composed earlier than 550 A. D. From the mention of the Buddha and the Ārhata as worshipping Śiva-liṅgas[40] and of the names of the zodiacal signs[41] (rāśi) it appears that the *Śiva-dharma* was written later than the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*. So, this work is to be dated between 200 and 500 A.D.; and this early origin of the work explains why it is totally free from Tantric influence.

The opening verse (*namas tuṅga-śiraś-cumbi*°, etc.) of our Ms., which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*, need not be taken to go against the above date of the *Śiva-dharma*. This verse, which does not occur in all Mss. of the *Śiva-dharma*, might have been added to it sometime between 650 and 1000 A. D.

It is difficult to say anything definitely about the provenance of the *Śiva-dharma*. From the mention of the names of mountains, rivers and holy places mostly belonging to Northern India it appears that this work was composed somewhere in that part of the country. The occurrence of the text of the *Śiva-dharma* mostly in Newari Mss. or on Nepalese paper and the mention of the Devikā, a small river in South-

[39] See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6, fols. 16b-17a.

It is to be noted that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A. D. that we find in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira the new order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it is highly probable that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A. D.

[40] For the relevant verses of the *Śiva-dharma* see foot-notes 11-12 above.

[41] See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6 (fol. 17a).

The familiarity of ancient people with the Tithis, Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term 'rāśi' in all early works down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A. D.

ern Kashmir, and of the Candrabhāgā as a highly sacred river,[42] seem to point to Southern Kashmir or the Northern Punjab as the place of origin of the *Śiva-dharma*.[43]

The similarity between the names of the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara* has sometimes confused the Smṛti-writers in quoting verses from the one or the other. In his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 467, II. ii, p. 396 and II. ii, pp. 887-889 Hemādri wrongly ascribes to the *Śiva-dharmottara* three extracts of 3, 6 and 37 verses on 'vṛṣabhādhika-go-śata-dāna', Umā-maheśvara-vrata and Śiva-liṅga-vrata respectively which really occur in *Śiva-dharma*, Chaps. 10 and 9. The verse

> "*saṃskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ/*
> *deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ*"||,

which really belongs to *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 2, has been wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III. i, p. 353 and Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 657.

An examination of the extracts and verses quoted in different works from the *Śiva-dharma*, shows that there has not been any serious change in the text of this work at least for a long time. Besides a few isolated verses mostly on Liṅga-worship, there is a long extract of 69 metrical lines on Mauna-vrata (Vow of Silence), which, though spoken out by Nandikeśvara and ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II. ii, pp. 879-883, is not found in the present *Śiva-dharma*. But the number of such untraceable verses is rather small in comparison with that of the traceable ones.

[42] *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 18a).

[43] In my article on the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, published in *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, III, 1952, pp. 39-64, I have shown that this work was composed either in Southern Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Punjab.

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APPENDIX I

VERSES ASCRIBED TO THE *ŚIVA-DHARMA* OR *ŚIVA-DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA*

1. In *Smṛti-candrikā* (of Devaṇabhaṭṭa)	In *Śiva-dharma*
ii, p. 539	... Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).
p. 553	... Chap. 7 (same 2 verses as mentioned above).
pp. 553-561	... Chap. 5 (74 verses on fols. 7a-11a).
2. In *Caturvarga-cintā-maṇi* (of Hemādri)	In *Śiva-dharma*
I, p. 467	... Chap. 10 (2 verses on fol. 33a).
pp. 508-9	... Chap. 8 (17 metrical lines on fol. 26a).
p. 593	... Chap. 8 (1 verse on fol. 26a).
pp. 637-8	... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 26a).
p. 915	... Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 32b).
II. i, p. 235	... Chap. 5 (5 verses on fol. 7b). Of the 7 verses quoted by Hemādri, the last two (from 'payo-dadhi-ghṛta etc.'), are not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
pp. 235-6	Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 8a).
II. ii, p. 154	... Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 30b).
pp. 240-241	... Chap. 8 (9 metrical lines on fol. 24a).
p. 241	... Chap. 10 (3 verses on fol. 30b).
pp. 252-3	... Chap. 10 (5 verses on fol. 30b).
p. 395	... Chap. 10 (10 verses on fols. 29b-30a).
p. 843	... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).
pp. 848-853	... Chap. 10 (105 metrical lines on fols. 30b-32b).

pp. 887-9 (wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharmottara*)	... Chap. 9 (37 lines on Śiva-liṅga-vrata on fols. 26b-27a).
pp. 911-912	Chap. 8 (6 verses on fol. 23a-b).
pp. 1030-31	... Chap. 8 (12 verses on fol. 25b).
III. ii, pp. 881-2	... Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b).
3. In Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* (ed. V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay)	In *Śiva-dharma*
I i, pp. 375-6	... Chap. 7 (1 verse on fol. 20b). The second quoted verse (sakṛt pūjayate yas tu) is not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
4. In *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhāya, Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. Smṛti-117)	In *Śiva-dharma*
fol. 25a-bcf.	... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 12b).
fol. 47a	... Chap. 8 (2 verses on fol. 24b).
5. In *Varṣa-Kṛtya* (of Rudradhara)	In *Śiva-dharma*
p. 151	... Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).
6. In *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana)	In *Śiva-dharma*
I. p. 132	... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).
7. In *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nīlakaṇṭha, ed. Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay)	In *Śiva-dharma*
p. 96	... Chap. 5 (1 verse 'liṅgānulepanaṃ, etc.' on fol. 8b). The other two quoted verses are not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
p. 97	... Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 10a).

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Verses from the *Śiva-dharma* have also been quoted in the following works :

Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares), Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 114.

Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), II, p. 543; III, pp. 188, 236, 386, 440-2, 446.

APPENDIX II.

The verses ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharma*' in the following works are not found in the present *Śiva-dharma* :

(1) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 44, 109; II. i, p. 44; II. ii, pp. 879-883 (on Mauna-vrata).

(2) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. i, p. 190.

(3) *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), fols. 25b, 47a, 47b.

(4) *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi* (of Vācaspati Miśra), p. 46.

(5) *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (of Narasiṃha Vājapeyin), p. 138.

(6) *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana), I, pp. 129-130, 131, 407.

(7) *Tantra-sāra* (of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa) I, p. 46.

(8) *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nīlakaṇṭha), p. 94.

DATE OF THE BHĀRATA BATTLE OR MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

REJOINDER NO. II*

By P. C. SENGUPTA

FOR finding the year of the Bhārata War, as he calls it, Professor Bhattacharya depends solely on the two *Mahābhārata* statements : (i) the first is Kṛṣṇa's challenge to Karṇa that he began the fight on the day of the coming new-moon in the *Jyeṣṭhā* nakṣatra of which the "junction star" is *Antares* and (ii) the other is the *Mahābhārata* statement of Bhīṣma on the day of his expiry that it was in the last quarter of the month of *Māgha* of the Battle year. If the lunar reckoning be of full-moon ending, the last quarter day of the month would be in the bright half; if the lunar reckoning be of the new-moon ending months, the last quarter day would be in the dark half of the month of *Māgha* (lunar). Prof. Bhattacharya further assumes that the former last quarter day was the winter solstice day as well and found by actual calculation correct up to the exact time of the day. We shall show that all his assumptions are false due to his imperfect acquaintance with the *Mahābhārata* and with the history of the development of Hindu astronomy from the Vedic times. We shall first show that the solution of his problem can never be unique.

Now, the star *Antares* is 2°20′ ahead of the first point of the nakṣatra *Jyeṣṭhā* according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta*. The nakṣatra then extends up to 11° ahead of the star. Prof. Bh. in the solution of his problem assumes that the instant

*The references are to : (1) the paper on "The Date of the Bhārata War" by Prof. Tarakeshwar Bhattacharya, late of the Assam Educational Service; (2) A Rejoinder by P. C. Sengupta; and (3) A Reply to My Rejoinder by Prof. Bhattacharya. All these three papers have been published in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* from November 1950 issue in succession.

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